1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

123 acquired the title of *Awa*. When asked by my brother professionals to exhibit my charms, I always gravely produced my little pocket compass, which, by its mysterious movements, never failed to impress them. I never could persuade the boldest to touch it.

262 Three kinds of fasts are observed. The first is only when ordered by the *U-se'-ka-ru* on great public occasions. This is general and simultaneous over all the country. Sufficient food is prepared beforehand to last for three days, the usual time fixed. During those three days, no fires are lighted; the food is served and eaten in silence; no unnecessary conversation is allowed; the people stay strictly inside their houses, or if they go out during day time, they carefully cover themselves from the light of the sun, believing that exposure to the sun's rays would "turn them black"; no salt or other condiment is used in the food; no chocolate is drunk, and even tobacco is forbidden. The second kind is similar, though less rigid than the first, and is voluntary; the same restrictions are observed with reference to fires and food, but the people may talk and go out, avoiding, however, carefully all chance of contact with *bu-ku-ru'*. The third is still more limited, and is the individual fast already referred to for cleansing from *bu-ku-ru'*.

474 The feasts are of two classes; the death feast already described, and
574 re-unions for labor. In the latter case; when a person wants to do an extraordinary piece of work, like clearing a piece of forest for a plantation, he provides a suitable quantity of food, and especially of chicha. On the day appointed his neighbors unite early at his house, or at the spot designated, and work industriously until about noon. All then repair to the house, and, after a good round of chicha drinking, food is served, followed by more chicha. After a while dancing begins, and is kept up as long as the chicha holds out. Sometimes the work is continued for two or three days, but always ends early in the day, the afternoon and evening being devoted to eating and especially to drinking.

241 No labor can be accomplished without liberal allowances of chicha, and
[461 the man who is the most profuse in this respect is the best fellow. A
[273 man will sometimes undertake to make his own clearing, unassisted, but it is very slow work, and drags on at the rate of two or three hours' work a day, with many days of rest. The trees once cut down, the man will burn off the brush, assisted by his sons, or sons-in-law, if he has any, and then plants his crop; usually corn for making more chicha. After that it has to take care of itself. He goes out occasionally to hunt, fish, or sometimes to bring a bunch of plantains. When the corn is nearly ripe, the boys have to watch it to scare off the parrots and pigs. If there are no boys in the family, then all hands usually go and occupy a little shed in, or on the edge of the cornfield. They feast on the green and ripening corn until it is too hard to boil, and then collect what has been left to ripen.

462 The labor of the women is to bring plantains and water, and to cook and wash. They are never required to do work in the plantation, unless

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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protection from the latter. Back of the fire-place are ranged the olicha jars, two or three in number. Being round bottomed, they stand on the floor propped up by stones. Scattered around the house are stools or benches, rarely more than six inches high, each carved out of a solid block of wood. They generally have four feet, though occasionally a small, roughly made one is seen, with but two feet, and which is only kept in upright position when somebody is sitting on it. The pots and kettles about the fire are all of American cast iron, and vary in size from less than a quart to ten gallons capacity. Hanging from the barbacus over the smoke, is generally seen a cocoanut shell or a leaf bundle full of salt. It is kept here because it is the only place where it will remain dry. Suspended from the roof are baskets of from one to three cubic feet capacity. They are usually made of a peculiar, very hard, and very flexible vine. These are the trunks of the people, and in them are kept their clothing and all of their little personal treasures and ornaments. They are also used for storing corn or other seeds, like beans, the basket being then lined with leaves to prevent spilling. The women also use them for carrying water calabashes. These are either gourds or the shells of the fruit of the calabash tree, with a small round hole cut in one end. One other use of the baskets is to carry loads when the net bags are scarce. These nets are also often suspended about the house in the same manner as the baskets. Axes, always of the make of Collins, of Connecticut, and long machetes, either of this or of some inferior make, are to be found in every house. Collins' hardware has gained a permanent reputation among these people, who will give twice as much for a leather handled machete of this brand, as for any other kind. Of other tools, the most noteworthy is a heavy stick sharpened to a chisel edge at one end and beveled on one side. This is used for making holes in planting corn or plantain sprouts, and the edge is used to beat down high grass. It works almost as effectually as a scythe. Hooked sticks for lifting the iron kettles, others cut with short radiating branches at the end, like a five or six pointed star, for stirring chocolate, and paddles for stirring food are always found near the fire. Calabashes and gourds with small holes cut in one end for water bottles, and other calabashes cut in half for drinking cups, are also found in every house. Food usually, and even drink sometimes, are served in leaves, called in Spanish "platanillo," smaller and tougher, but otherwise resembling those of the plantain. These are dexterously folded so as to hold a quart or more of fluid without spilling.

Of arms, besides the inevitable machete and very good double-barreled guns, they possess bows made of a very tough kind of palm wood. They are straight and usually about five feet long. The string is made of the finer kind of *agave* fibre. The arrows are of three kinds. All have a butt two and a half to three feet long, made from the light flower stalk of the wild cane. This is a mass of pith, with a thin hard shell on the outside, giving the requisite stiffness. They are not feathered. The

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

is shown in pl. III, from a photograph kindly furnished by Prof. M. H. Saville. 482

Drying platforms for cacao, and outside granaries, built close to the houses, are found everywhere. 343

Gardens.—Many Bribri lodges are surrounded by yards enclosed with small bough fences, within which nothing is grown; but every home has its small banana or plantain plantation and its grove of cacao trees, sometimes very large and old, with occasional lime trees or yampi plants. These trees usually grow close to the dwelling, and often surround it. Corn fields are commonly seen, and calabash trees are always in evidence. Cotton plants, growing either singly or in small clumps, are sometimes found near the houses. 241 ●

Household Utensils.—As above stated, every member of a family is provided with a low stool or seat, hewn from a block of wood. These seats (fig. 2) are round, square, or oblong, and the long, round, tapering legs of some examples suggest the stone metates found at Las Mercedes. There can be no doubt that the custom of 352 171

177 Ricans has unfortunately gained in degree
648 since the advent of the vanguard of road-builders for the Pan-American Highway. To date, they have, however, managed to keep relatively free from inter-mixture either by marriage or by cohabitation with non-Indian

[Continued p. 5-B, first paragraph]

VILLAGES

361 The village of Boruca is situated in a low depression on undulating hills, about 6 miles inland from the River Diquis (see fig. 3, *a* and *b*) and at an altitude of approximately 466 meters. As a rule, the day-time temperature [132] is between 75 or 78 degrees F. The nights are fairly cool, and during the dry season, fog or a very heavy mist is common in the early morning often lasting as late as eight or nine o'clock. These hillocks have been cleared of forest, and are quite bare save for a few scattered shade or fruit trees. There are no [363] streets, but several narrow foot and animal paths extend through the town. The Indians are accustomed to pick their way over the grass to the houses which are scattered over and in between the hillocks, forming a picturesque panorama which can be best seen from the summit of the two tall hills which flank the village on the northern and south-eastern sides, respectively. Eastward, a trail leads down to a mountain spur which extends in a northeastern direction toward Curré, some 6 miles distant. Formerly, Boruca had [346 a *cabildo*, or town hall. Today, this has disap-
177] peared, and the wooden schoolhouse and church with its haphazard wire fence are the only semblances of *ladino* architecture. [351 Although most of the houses have no fences,
417] a very few have wooden ones, hemming in a garden with colored crotons, flowers, or some fruit trees. The school is starting a *manzana* [245] of vegetables and fruit trees on the outskirts of the town. A small creek, with tree- or 312 bush-lined sides, known by the Spanish name of *La Quebrada* or the Boruca name of *Tupsi*, flows through the community, supplying

[Continued p. 5-B, second paragraph]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** The farms of the *Boruca* contain from three to five *manzanas*, a *manza-na* usually comprising about ten thousand

[continued p. 5-B, last paragraph]

[804] = A *vara* equals 33 inches.

peoples (see p. 26), and are, curiously enough, 177
practically the only group in modern Costa 648
Rica who have retained their indigenous dress,
even though many of their customs have unfortunately disappeared.

VILLAGES

water for washing purposes. The drinking 312
water is derived from springs which are
located in the northern section of the town.

Curré and Lagarto are river hamlets, lying 361
in the very narrow plain cut by the Diquis
River in its upper course. They are low, unhealthy locations, the houses situated in dense
forest and thickets. As a consequence, they
are not open and fresh as Boruca, but closed-
in, and, for many months of the year,
mosquito ridden. These villages have even
less the aspect of a formal town than Boruca.
Narrow, almost imperceptible foot paths lead [363]
from one of the widely scattered and nearly
hidden houses to the other. There are no
churches or schools, and perhaps there is one
fence in both communities. Water is obtained
from shallow wells on the river bank, from [312]
small creeks, or from the river itself.

Palmar Norte is on a flat right on the river
bank. The forest comes to the outskirts of the
town, but unlike the other river villages, the
community itself is open and free of the bush.
Palmar Norte is obviously under *ladino* [177]
influence. Here, there is a definite attempt to
lay out a "town" in the Spanish-American
sense, with a *plaza* or square, a church, school,
several saloons and stores, the houses all with
fences, and broad, wide, grass-covered streets
connecting blocks or squares. It keeps its
indigenous characteristics in the still ample
space or gardens around the houses, and, of
course, their construction which, for the most [342]
part, is like that of Lagarto and Curré. Mala-
ria is prevalent among the *Boruca*, who are, [164]
otherwise, an exceptionally healthy people.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

square *varas*.[18] The farms are away from the 241
village, and are generally fenced in. The fence 417
is nearly always made with living posts,

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

417 [B24] usually from the *poro-poro* tree[16] (*Cochlospermum bibiscoides*). A vine called the *bejuco de fuego*, or *brutʃ-a'* in Boruca, is used as horizontal bars, and to tie the fences, when the purse does not permit wire. The vine lasts at least a year without having to be replaced. 241 One of the *manzanas* is always made into a *milpa*, or corn patch. The rest is planted with rice (*Oryza sativa* L.), sugar cane (*Saccharum officinarum* L.), plantains (*Musa paradisiaca* L.), yuca (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl.). The writer could not find the sweet variety which is *Esculenta* Crantz, although Pittier lists this in his vocabulary as *únbah*,[17] ñampí (*Dioscorea trifida* L.), cacao (*Theobroma Cacao* L.), some bananas (*Musa sapientum* L.), and tobacco (*Nicotiana Tabacum* L.).

Besides these ordinary foodstuffs, there is generally one or more of the following items: coffee (*Coffea* spp.), oranges (*Citrus sinensis* [L.] Osbeck), mangoes (*Mangifera indica* L.), pejibaye (*Guilielma utilis* Oerst.), both with and without thorns, papayas (*Carica Papaya* L.), alligator pears (*Persea americana* Mill.), pineapples (*Ananas comosus* [L.] Merr.), yucca (*Yucca elephantipes* Regel), *tiquisque* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott), tree cotton (generally, *Gossypium peruvianum* Cav.), colored cotton (see p. 16), and at times, cashews (*Anacardium occidentale* L.).

243 The rice planted is the upland variety, and is sown after the ground has been subjected to the usual slash and burn method common to all *Boruca* cultivation. There are some twelve different varieties of corn, including a specimen with apparent jet black[18] kernels and a deep purple cob.[19] This is used as a rule, only for making chicha. Deep yellow, white, white and yellow, white-yellow-red, red, red-orange, and purple corn are also grown. The purple, like the black, is used generally for chicha. All the corn grown by the *Boruca* can be classified as *Zea Mays* L. and is divisible into types. The most common kind is known as "Tropical

[16] *Cochlospermum vitifolium* (Willd.) Spreng, according to Standley, 1937, p. 713; and *Cochlospermum bibiscoides*, according to Pittier, 1941, p. 68. Also see Pittier, 1908, p. 129.

[17] See Pittier, 1941, p. 45.

[18] There is no true black corn. Purple always appears mixed with black.

[19] In Guatemala, especially in the west, black corn is used to eat, that is, to make tortillas, or in any other

243 flint-corn," and the other as "dent corn." The various colors are secondary characteristics, and cannot be classified as distinct specimens.[20] The bean preferred is a variety
244 (*Phaseolus vulgaris* L.) found, in Costa Rica, only among the *Boruca*.[21] It is a pole bean, and is red with large white spots.

241 The Indians visit their farms daily, leaving
[512] the village early each morning and returning about four or five in the afternoon. They take with them a lunch usually consisting of
[262] one or two items including either a tamale called *tʃari-kɔ*, which is made of dried green plantains, or chicha made from corn. The
[462] primary clearing of the forest to make the field is done by both men and women. The felled trees are burned in the dry season, and from then on, only the women, often assisted by the children, do the work.

245 In the village, and often on the savannas, guavas (*guayabos*) (*Psidium Guajava* L.), *Inga* (guavas) (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.), Spanish plums, *jocotes* (*Spondias purpurea* L.), and nances (*Byrsonima crassifolia* [L.] DC.) are found. These trees, although apparently not cultivated today, may well have been so in ancient times.

Gathering and Cultivating Methods.
412 The agricultural implements of the present-
[177] day *Boruca* are almost completely borrowed from the *ladino*. The common tools are broad machetes and *macanas*, which have possibly evolved from a digging stick, and are made with a wooden shaft or handle and a small iron flat-edged blade at one end. This is used for digging holes or even cutting roots in the field. Spades and an instrument called a *cuchillo*, which is a long knife or machete, are also common.

243 The women open holes for sowing, using a
[462] long pole with a point at one end. The seeds are carried in a gourd (see p. 19) in one hand, and sown with the other. Ordinarily

form, as well as to make chicha. It is particularly prized, along with other colored ears, as ritual offerings to the saints or to ancient gods.

[20] The writer thanks don Jorge Leon of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Food Production Division, San José de Costa Rica, for the above information.

[21] The Boruca bean is also known in Guatemala, particularly in the west, where it is called *pinto*.

796 the Immaculate Conception is carried, in the procession, by four women picked by the priest. A food bazaar is held in the church yard, and the only ancient vestige that can be seen is the dance of the *negritos* (see p. 29), who generally precede the procession, but sometimes appear later in the day. This variation depends upon the priest. Frequently, the priest feels that the dance is too pagan and should not be performed in the solemn march.

[798]

771 **Superstitions and Beliefs.** There are certain superstitions and beliefs peculiar to the *Boruca* which may be associated with their former credence. When planting, the Indians water the newly sown seeds with water mixed with soil from the cemetery. This is supposed to keep the rats and other rodents from eating the seeds. All the Indians are afraid of thunder, believing that it is closely allied with bad luck. When it thunders in the hills on the east side of the Diquis or Térraba River, the *Boruca* say that a large snake is moving his tail. This snake used to live near El Sapo, in these hills, but when Monseñor Thiel, the former Archbishop of Costa Rica, passed through this region on one of his missionary trips, the snake moved, from fear of the Archbishop, to the headwaters of the Balsar River, west of the Diquis River. Here he is today, in a very steep and isolated spot where no one can find him.

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When it thunders toward the south, they claim that the two pejibaye palms which grow on the summit of the Hill of the Sorcerer are angry. The wind that blows at night is a soul in pain. It is interesting that the Indians still tell, and actually believe, that without the help of the *sukia*[38a] there would not now be game around Boruca, and so, of course, all the people would have died. They say that eighteen years ago there was no game in the vicinity. A *sukia* from Talamanca was summoned. He went to a high mountain which lies south of the present village of Boruca. This mountain is called "El Cerro del Encanto," or "Hill of the Sorcerer." A great noise was heard. When he returned, there were many wild peccary in the neighborhood. They still recount and believe that "Tatica Cuazarn," the mythical sorcerer who lives on the Hill of the Sorcerer, used to visit Boruca

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[38a] See below.

[p. 25-A]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

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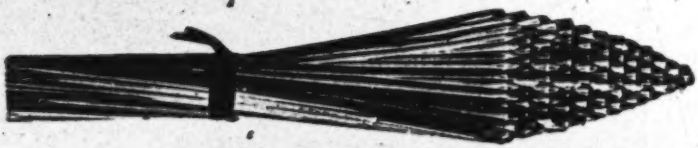

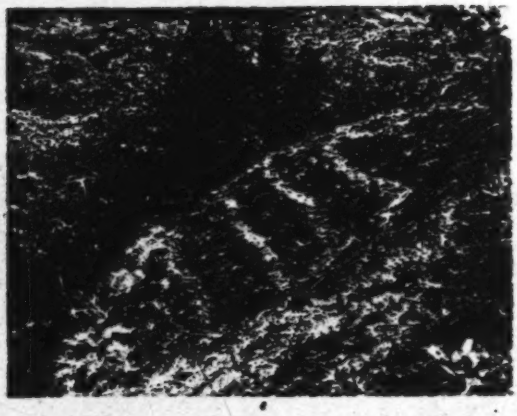

a, Femoral of a woman. b, Mask used in New Year's celebration. c, Straw mortar (⅓ actual size). d, Rattles or maracas with bone handles. e, Remains of common agriculture on the savanna.

[p. 60]

[P. 11(A)] Bribri Cabecar

177 many distinct degrees of acculturation. These will be touched upon in the course of this paper.

621 192 **Villages.** Villages in the European sense of the word are unknown and have always been non-existent as far as these peoples are concerned. Their very language denotes this fact. Neither in Bribri nor in Cabécar is there a word for town or city. The idea is understood [177] because of contact with the outside. In Bribri, city is expressed by *koṇ* (place or extension) *bLuburu* (much or great). Town is termed *koṇ* or *kę́* (*kę́* is "place" in the Cabécar tongue and also by adoption, but slightly modified by accent, in Bribri) and *kəbi* which means Cabécar. This significantly brings to mind the con- [721] quest of the Cabécares by the less-cultured Bribri. In Cabécar, city is also understood and is expressed by the word *bužiga* or, literally, *bu* (house) *žiga* (many), and town by *kạ* meaning 621 361 "place" and also signifying Talamanca in the sense of "our home."

When discussing this, the statement of Joan

[Text continues TOP of P. 11(B)--Quale/YST]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** Agriculture differs according to the location. The people on the Pacific side have the advantage of both climate and education. Here planting is controlled by a marked wet and dry season, while physically there are wider valleys and gentler slopes. In Talamanca and Chirripó, planting is done at any time of the year although May is the favorite month. Cultivation is usually found on the steepest hillsides not only because flat land is scarce but also because this offers the best protection [231] against the inevitable pigs which are kept by the Indians for economic reasons.

The method of farming also varies slightly. The slash-burn technique is prevalent on the Pacific side, but on the other slope, excessive rains control the situation. Although occasional burning is carried out, the usual practice is to remove the small bush and to allow the rest of the downed forest to decay, chopping it with a machete to quicken the process. Instead of waiting until the wood has disappeared, planting is done in between the decomposing material.

[Text continues bottom of P. 11(B)--Quale/YST]

[P. 11(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

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Dávila must be remembered (*see* Regional Terminology) as well as the custom that each clan had to settle in a particular location (*see* Social Organization). In truth, one of the greatest points of contention between the aborigine and the Spaniard was the necessity of the conqueror to force the Indian to live in towns in order to carry out the task of conversion, to collect tribute, and to have an easy and constant source of labor. This concentration in a community was entirely foreign to the culture of the Talamancan peoples, and historical documents contain many allusions to the resistance of the Indians to such a move. There are countless sites with names, but even in the case of places such as Amubre, Chirripó, and Ujarrás where there is a church, or Cabagra, Salitre, and Ujarrás where there is a school, there is little semblance of what the word "village" brings to mind. Dwellings are scattered, sometimes two to five kilometers apart, and only on the Pacific side is there anything akin to a community center, in this instance the school.

[648]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

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The only implement used in upper Talamanca and Chirripó is a flat, pointed digging stick made from the outer bark of the *pejibaye* palm (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey). This is stuck into the ground at a sixty degree angle and is then raised vertically. The seeds are thrown into this hole from a gourd tied around the waist (fig. 2, *c*), and the stick is removed permitting the earth to settle back. It is then tapped lightly in place with the stick. The belief persists that this tool was once a battle weapon.[60] The only other cultivation deemed necessary is one weeding with a machete. In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, both the all-wood *macana* and one with a metal blade are seen; while on the Pacific side, an angle stick is used to clear the fields. It is interesting to note that when tobacco is to be planted here there is no preliminary burning. This crop is sown in rows indicated by ..nes and pieces of banana stalk are put over the new growth to keep off too much sun.

[412]
[824]
[415]
[411]
[412]
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[60] Skinner, 1920, pp. 70-71.

5/2 [See category 116, END Plate 1- Analyst]

241 462 [178] Women formerly felled trees and did as much field labor as the men. Today, however, women do not clear the forest although they do cut the weeds and grass. On both sides of the range, men and women work in the fields and harvest crops.

262 241 **Cultivated Crops.** The basic diet of these peoples consists of tubers, *pejibaye*, cacao, bananas,[61] and plantains.

244 The importance of tubers is easily understood when one takes into account the following advantages: they can be grown in a wide range of soils; propagate without trouble; have few serious pests; will tolerate heavy rainfall; and are available throughout the year. The [137] principal root crops are yucas (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz) including the white, yellow, reddish, and purple varieties;[62] *tiquisqui* or *malanga* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott); white and yellow *ñame* (*Dioscorea* spp.) and purple and white *ñampi* (*Dioscorea trifida* L.).

245 Cacao, bananas, and plantains are also year-round products which, once planted, do not need constant attention.

245 262 In fact, most of these basic foodstuffs are in production continually, assuring a permanent source of food. The *pejibaye* usually bears twice a year and requires from two to seven years of growth before producing its first crop. The value of its fruit as an element of diet, however, cannot be underestimated.[63] [137] There are several kinds of *pejibayes*—some red and some yellow, both with and without seeds.[64] They have been a traditional item of diet for the Talamancans since pre-Columbian times when they appear to have been cultivated extensively.[65] They are present at every ancient and modern indigenous site, but are not found wild in the forest.

262 241 This basic diet is supplemented with several varieties of beans among which are the *kubas*

[137] [177] [61] The banana is not an indigenous American foodstuff. It was brought to this continent at the time of the Spanish conquest by Friar Tomás de Berlanga.

[62] These names apply chiefly to the plant without the tuber. The distinguishing characteristics are: white yuca has many and large leaves and a straight trunk; yellow yuca has a yellow trunk and tuber; purple yuca has purple leaves but the root is white; red yuca has red leaves and white tubers.

[63] For food value of this fruit, *see* Appendix I.

[64] The Boruca are the only Costa Rican people who

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

[P. 12(B)]

(*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kidney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vegetables are grown. In this last region, coffee is raised as a cash crop but is seldom used personally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated and sold on the Pacific side.

Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is raised primarily for making a fermented drink, chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an account written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ." [68] In all early

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[67] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[67] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maíz poquísimo. . . ."

[P. 13(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri cabecar

262 reports, mention is continually made of tubers, especially yucas, and of the *pejibaye*, whereas maize is cited not because of its significance as an Indian food but because it was something familiar to the conquerors.[69] There is reason [177] to suspect that its use by the Talamancan peoples came as a result of Mexican colonists in relatively recent pre-Columbian times.[70]

243 On the Caribbean side, maize is planted in small quantity throughout the year with the general exception of the months of February and March. However, the Indians have been known to utilize even these two months. The maize ears show a variety of colors and are very seldom solid white.

241 In addition to these edible products, a little tobacco, one or two cotton plants which thrive in spite of the rains, at times *barbasco* (*see* Fishing) and, in upper Talamanca and Chirripó, the palm used for roofing are cultivated by most families near their dwellings. These plants are not removed as are the root crops, etc.

231 **Domestic Animals.** Besides the dog, which is found in all Indian dwellings, the pig is the most important domestic animal. His commercial worth is noted in the earliest reports of the conquerors (*see* Trade), and as an economic asset, he has not fallen in value. In a sense he serves as a bank account, to be sold [454] in case of emergency because of sickness or some other immediate need. On the Caribbean slope, wild peccaries are trained from birth to follow man as a dog does and to live in the household. Sometimes a semicircular pen of [417] sticks is built against the inside wall of the dwelling for the animal. Other breeds of pigs are scarce except on the Pacific side where the school has imported domestic swine.

Chickens are found in many households but [417] not in all. They are enclosed at night in small houses built of poles tied with vines (fig. 3, *d*), ¼ or, as is usual on the Pacific side, roost in trees. Cats and turkeys are rare. Strangely enough, the turkey is almost never seen in the Pacific region, where the weather is drier and

[69] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 24. In a report of 1692 to the Bishop of Nicaragua on the state of the missions in Talamanca, we find the following in connection with food the Franciscan father had to eat: ". . . su alimento común es una vevida que hacen de raíces y hiervas molidas, y en muy pocas

¼ [see category 116, END Plate 2 - ANALYST.]

[P. 40(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

601 tachiwa Mo Fa Fa
Fa Fa Fa
So So
So Da
Da So
Da Da
mikuwa Fa Mo Mo
Mo Mo Mo

423 **Land Tenure.** We have already noted that villages in the European sense are foreign to the Talamancans. The clan has a given area [614] for the use of their members. This involves a [241] river or creek (*see* Villages). The individual family plants in a different spot yearly within this territory (*see* Farming and Cultivated Foods). The Cabécares of the Pacific slope have begun to recognize land property. In [351] Ujarrás, fences are seen around vegetable and house gardens. The Bribri, however, have only demonstrated such tendencies in the vicinity of the school.

428 **Property.** The property understood as individual and which can be handed down at death [422] [423] pertains to personal effects and the house. When a man dies his property goes to his brothers and sisters. If he has a mother they go to his mother. When she dies they go to whomever she wants to leave them, a son, [178] daughter, etc. Today, however, everything [429] goes to the children—not to the wife. The wife remains as guardian for the children. When a man dies without leaving an adult son, his head wife receives everything, but she is obli- [736] gated to take care of the other wives until they remarry. The eldest son receives the greater portion, but all children have a share.

443 **Trade.** Markets were and are unknown among the Talamancan peoples. Trade was accomplished by itinerant groups or in areas set aside for this purpose. Products of the sea, 438 such as salt and *chaquira*, shell beads which [436] served as a medium of exchange, were important items in pre-Columbian times. Also in demand were gold, wild pigs, slaves, and cotton cloth.[140]

Certain vestiges of this custom remain. In [437] fact, in the remote areas, and even in Salitre and Ujarrás, articles are often traded and

[140] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V.

*539 *gra* and *kaŋimina*. The medicine man has to
821 talk to them and to *serike* when he wants to
776 make rain or to stop the rain. September is
756 planting time in Talamanca, and that is when
the sun is needed so as the cuttings or seeds
will not be washed away. It is then that the
●[241] *jawá* chants:

Let the sun come clean.
Let him raise above the sea.
Send to the north, the south, the east, the west,
Put on his clothes.
Come!
When he puts on good clothes,
The sun looks good;
But when he has on dirty ones
He's not so nice.

To bring rain, the *jawá* chants:

kaŋibikégra, kaŋimina
Come here,
Come rain storm,
To fall here.

(4) The Rainbow [174]

(Bribri and Cabécar)

When *bukubLute*, the bad spirit (*see* Tabus), smokes his pipe, he lights it with the rainbow. The smoke that comes forth is the north wind.

(5) The Origin of the Cabécares [175]

(Cabécar)

*589 *sibu* kept us in the form of seeds in a *jaba*
(basket; *see* Manufactures). The chief of the
worms, a greedy fellow, passed and saw us
[753] there. He swallowed us. For this reason we
have worms.

When *sibu* realized what had happened, he began to think about the kind of medicine to give this creature so that he would vomit up the *jaba* with the seeds. He decided on a mixture of drink knowing that the fellow was so greedy he would not refuse.

There was a little cacao tree and a gourd tree (*Crescentia Cujete* L.) which never bore. *sibu* met the chief of the worms near these

[175] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sejé tsinkineL* = we are born. For version of the Bribri origin myth *see* Pittier, 1903, pp. 2–4; Stone, 1956, p. 193. This last includes another Cabécar account.

[P. 99(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

APPENDIX I: Cultivated foods and Domesticated ANIMALS

BRIBRI

241
262
192

rice	*árroz* (corruption of the Spanish word *arroz*)
beans	*áruwo* or *áru* (this covers all varieties)
Indian beans (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.)	*shá áru*
black beans	*áru doLoLó*
red bean	*áru mátkLe*
butter bean	*uówo*
pole bean	*áru kLóie*
yuca	*aLí*
black maize	*ikwó doLoLó*
yellow maize	*ikwó tsikríri*
white maize	*ikwó ururú*
bananas	*kLóm*
red banana	*kLóm mat*

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 99(C)--Analyst]

CABÉCAR

yuca	*ike*
pole bean	*kəni kaLié*
black bean	*kəni doLoné*
red bean	*kəni matké*
vegetable pear	*jaruo*
tiquízque	*bue*
pejibaye	*diké*
seedless pejibaye	*diké jəʒerribe*
rice	*arroz* (Spanish)
banana	*chomo*
plantain	*kalbí*
pig banana	*kəchi chomo*
maize	*kwó*
black maize	*kwó doLana*
Indian maize (varied colors on the same cob)	*seié kaikwó*
pumpkin	*pis*
coffee[1]	*capé* (corruption of the Spanish *café*)

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 99(C)--Analyst]

[1] On the Pacific slope, the Cabécares cultivate coffee for sale.

[P.99(C)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19

Bribri
cabecar

APPENDIX I : Cultivated foods and Domesticated Animals

BRIBRI

● 241
262
192

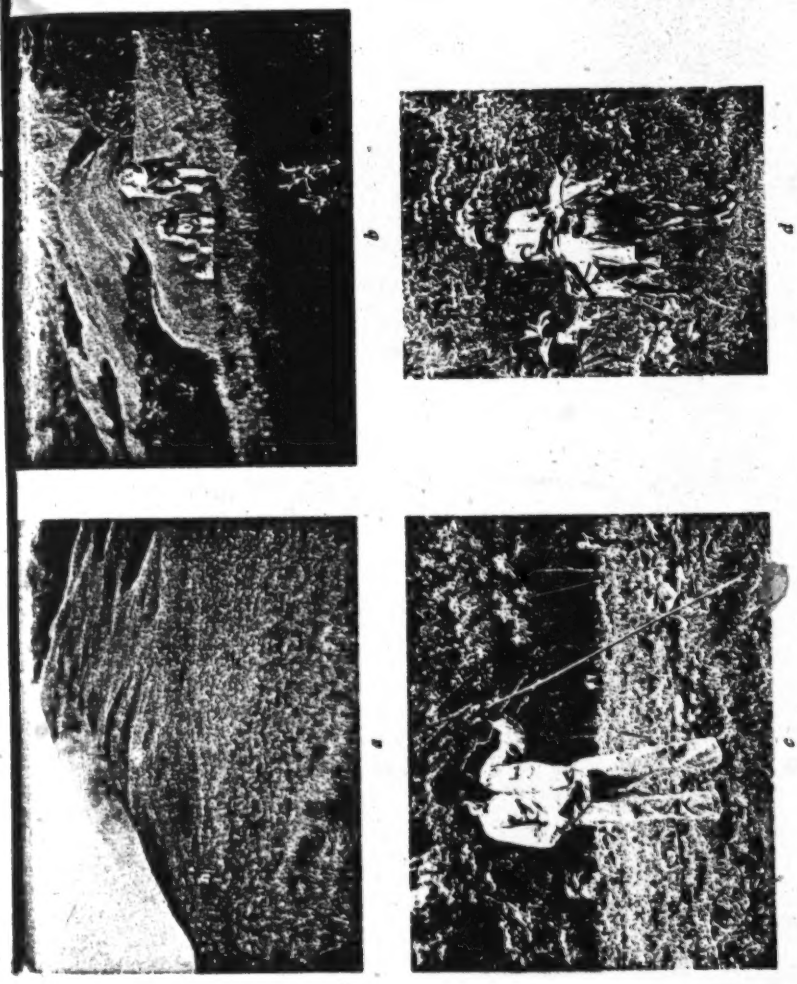
guineos	*chimų*
plantains	*tsaLá; mud*
sugar cane	*pákəL*
United Fruit Company bananas	*siwəwə*
chocolate	*tsirú*
pumpkin	*apí*
swine	*káchi*
chicken	*tkró*
cow	*baca*
horse	*no word*
duck	*no word*
cat	*michi*
dog	*chichi*
pejibaye	*dikó*
alligator pear	*amók*

CABÊCAR

mango	*mango* (Spanish)
orange	*china*
chile	*lá*
Inga	*waLoa*
chocolate	*tsirú*
alligator pear	*jomų*
yam	*tsəLirba*
sour sap	*tsá*
papaya	*kichə*
sugar cane	*paltə*
cow	*vaca* (Spanish)
pig	*kəchi*
chicken	*jóskivo*
dog	*chichi*
cat	*michi*
turkey	*chų*
duck	*pato* (Spanish)
horse	*caballo* (Spanish)

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar



a–b, Savannas by Ujarrás, Pacific slope. *c*, Planting in Ujarrás, Pacific slope. *d*, Bribri riding an ox, Pacific slope.

[END Plate 1]